

ON THE REACTIONARY NATURE OF MODERN REVISIONISM AND OUR PARTY'S REVOLUTIONARY STAND AGAINST REVISIONISM

Talk to Students at Kim Il Sung University

December 29, 1962

Today I would like to tell you about the reactionary nature and harmful effects of modern revisionism and our Party's principled stand against revisionism.

To begin with, allow me to explain the reactionary nature of modern revisionism and its harmful effects.

It is of primary importance in intensifying the struggle against modern revisionism to have a clear understanding of the reactionary nature of revisionism and its harmful effects. Merely insisting that revisionism is wrong is not a proper basis for a principled struggle against it.

At an enlarged meeting of the Third Plenary Meeting of the Fourth Central Committee of the Workers' Party of Korea held in March this year the great leader Comrade Kim Il Sung instructed that Party members and other working people need a correct understanding of revisionism so that they can discern right from wrong.

If one is to comprehend the reactionary nature of modern revisionism and its harmful effects correctly, one should first know how it came into being.

Many of you currently do not have a correct understanding of the origin of modern revisionism.

After the death of Marx and Engels, revisionism emerged in the international communist movement as an opportunistic trend advocating the comprehensive revision of Marxism, in a bid to emasculate the revolutionary essence of this doctrine.

As the conflict between the working class and capitalist class grew sharpened with the transition of capitalism to the stage of imperialism, the monopoly capitalists intensified their suppression of the revolutionary labour movement, at the same time buying off the upper echelon of the working class and using them as their puppets in an effort to undermine the labour movement from within. This gave birth to turncoats and degenerates who were bought off by the capitalist class; they tried to revise Marxism, and this trend was called revisionism.

The earliest representative of revisionism was Bernstein, the leader of German opportunism.

At almost the same time as the appearance of the Bernstein school in Germany, the Cabinets in France, the Fabian Society in Britain, the legitimate Marxists and economic determinists in Russia came into being, followed by the Mensheviks as an opportunistic faction within the Social Democratic Party of Russia. Though they differed from one another in their nationality, these despicable renegades were all attempting to revise Marxism. From the outset of its birth, revisionism assumed an international character and accordingly the struggle against revisionism took on an international character.

Since the first days after its birth, revisionism has had immeasurably grave consequences for the labour movement and communist movement. The revisionists plunged the working-class parties into the mire of opportunism, and ultimately broke down the Second International. After the October Revolution they spoke out in favour of the "crusade" of international imperialism against the newly-established Soviet Russia.

The communists who are faithful to the revolutionary cause of the working class have constantly been waging a principled struggle against revisionism. The history of the communist movement is run through with the struggle against all manner of opportunism, such as revisionism. Revisionism was dealt a severe blow by the principled struggle of communists.

But revisionism has now revived, and is playing havoc with the communist movement.

Today, socialism has become a worldwide system, going beyond the bounds of a single country. Socialism is gaining momentum with each passing day while the general crisis of imperialism is becoming more serious. The acute struggle between socialism and imperialism, between the revolutionary forces and counterrevolutionary forces in the international arena has driven the imperialists into a tight corner; so they are intensifying their suppression of the revolutionary people and the oppressed nations while, at the same time, making crafty efforts to rally the cowards who are afraid of carrying out the revolution in the socialist countries and the international communist movement, and using them as their minions.

The bourgeois influence from inside and the imperialist pressure from outside may cause some people to give way to the influence and pressure; the appearance of such people in the communist movement will inevitably give birth to revisionism. Falling prey to the bourgeois influence from inside and succumbing to the imperialist pressure from outside—this can be called the root cause of the appearance of revisionism.

It is not that revisionism appears in every country where bourgeois influence and imperialist pressure exist. However serious and strong the bourgeois influence and imperialist pressure may be, revisionism cannot appear if people refuse to yield to them and even in the event that it does appear, it can be overcome promptly.

People who fall prey to the bourgeois influence and yield to the imperialist pressure may appear in both capitalist and socialist countries.

Revisionism may emerge within parties, whether in or out of power. It is not unusual for revisionists to appear in a ruling party. There is no guarantee that revisionism will not appear simply because the party is in power or has a long revolutionary history.

What, then, is the reactionary nature of modern revisionism and what are its harmful effects?

As the leader has said, modern revisionism is, in essence, the same as the revisionism of the past. Both modern and former revisionism serve

the interests of the imperialists and reactionary classes and deny the basic principles of Marxism, demanding that the revolutionary struggle be discontinued on the excuse that times have changed. However, modern revisionism is far more dangerous than the revisionism of the Second International, as it forces opportunist lines and policies to be adopted as party and state policies.

The modern revisionists above all else reject the leadership of the working-class party.

As we all know, the working-class party is the general staff of the revolution and the guiding force under the system of proletarian dictatorship. The working class can successfully carry out the revolution and construction and perform its historic mission to the full only under the leadership of a revolutionary party.

Notwithstanding this, the modern revisionists doggedly oppose the party's leadership over the revolution and construction.

They try to emasculate the party's working-class nature under the signboard of an "all-people party." They assert that a communist party cannot represent only the interests of a particular class after the socialist system has emerged victorious and that a working-class party's development into an "all-people party" is a law-governed process and an essential requirement in building a communist society.

This assertion is an absurdity and does not conform with the elementary principles for building the revolutionary party of the working class. The fact is, there can be no party that is devoid of a class nature. If such a party exists it is not a party in the true sense of the word.

Throughout its existence, a working-class party exists just as it should; it cannot change into a party of any other class or an "all-people party."

That the modern revisionists advocate the "all-people party" and the like is, in the final analysis, aimed at rejecting the party's class nature and its leadership role and, worse still, abandoning the class struggle.

In addition, they reject the working-class party's leadership of the revolution and construction, arguing that its leadership inevitably begets bureaucratism.

The rejection of the party's leadership is, in essence, the rejection of its very existence. If a working-class party does not perform its leadership role in the revolution and construction, such a party can no longer be called the general staff of the revolution.

The moves of the modern revisionists to reject the party's leadership of the revolution and construction find expression in slinging mud at its leader's authority and dignity.

The modern revisionists direct the spearhead of their attack at the leader of the working class, through a campaign against the "personality cult." Historically, the opportunists and anti-party, counterrevolutionary factionalists of all shades began their opportunist schemes by vilifying the authority and dignity of the leader.

To cope with the manoeuvres of the modern revisionists, we should have a clear understanding of the leader's role in implementing the revolutionary cause of the working class.

The question of the leader's role in the revolutionary struggle should not be dissolved in the general discussion on the role of individual persons in the development of history, nor should it be studied in contrast with the role played by the masses of the people.

Just as the leader's role cannot be considered apart from the creative strength of the masses of the people in the revolutionary struggle, so any role for the latter is inconceivable separated from the former's leadership. Generally speaking, it is the masses of the people that create and develop history. This, however, does not mean that they can spontaneously take part in the revolutionary movement and transform society.

It is only under the guidance of a preeminent leader that the masses of the people can embark on the road of struggle and become a powerful driving force of social development and potent makers of history. This is clearly evidenced by the historical experience of the international labour movement, and of the national liberation movement and communist movement in our country.

Another harmful effect of modern revisionism lies in the fact that it rejects proletarian dictatorship.

Proletarian dictatorship is a basic weapon of the revolution that the

working class should hold fast to throughout the period of defending the gains of the revolution and carrying out its historic mission.

Whether one maintains proletarian dictatorship or not is a criterion for whether one is willing to carry through the revolution or not. The attitude and stand towards proletarian dictatorship are a touchstone with which to distinguish between a revolutionary stand and an opportunist one.

As shown by the history of the revolutionary struggle of the working class, the imperialists, opportunists and all other enemies tried in every possible way to weaken or eradicate proletarian dictatorship, constantly opposing it in order to stamp out the revolutionary cause of the working class.

Nowadays, the modern revisionists are aiming to paralyze people's class consciousness and weaken the proletarian dictatorship, clamouring about "freedom," "democracy" and "humanitarianism."

They reject proletarian dictatorship, on the basis that the hostile classes have been liquidated following the victory of socialism, resulting in the disappearance of the objects to be suppressed; but this argument is wholly at variance with the facts.

It is true that after the socialist system is established, a radical change is effected in the social and class structures. Notwithstanding this, it is not that the hostile forces and class struggle cease to exist and proletarian dictatorship becomes no longer necessary. This is well proved by the present situation in the socialist countries.

Another harmful effect of modern revisionism is that, stricken with fear at the atomic blackmail policy of the US imperialists, it spreads illusions about imperialism and prevents the anti-imperialist struggle from being waged.

As the leader has said, ours is an era of great struggle and a revolutionary tempest when a fierce class struggle is being waged in the international arena and all the exploited peoples and the oppressed nations on the earth are turning out in a liberation struggle.

However, the modern revisionists are proclaiming "peaceful coexistence" as the general line of their foreign policy and openly advocating compromise with the imperialists, while claiming that the

present era is a peaceful era of "cooperation," a claim which strays far away from the revolutionary stand and the viewpoint of class struggle.

The modern revisionists are now arguing that because imperialism has become "reasonable" it is possible to coexist with it, and that since nuclear weapons have been developed, confrontation with imperialism may invite the ravages of a worldwide thermonuclear war. In a nutshell, they are trying to dissociate people from the struggle against imperialism, spreading both illusions and phobia about the latter.

The modern revisionists propose destroying tanks to make ploughs out of them, widely advertizing a "world without weapons" and a "world free of wars." They are foolish enough to think that, if "universal and complete disarmament" is put into practice the imperialists will be dispossessed of their armies and weapons, the liberation of the oppressed nations will automatically be achieved and a new era will arrive when imperialism is ruined and socialism emerges victorious, resulting from "peaceful competition" among countries.

They are resorting to every manner of disgraceful behaviour, claiming that the anti-imperialist struggle is no longer a slogan for communists and that "peaceful coexistence" is their sole slogan.

All the lines and policies followed by communists should be worked out from a thoroughly revolutionary point of view and in line with the basic interests of the working class.

"Peaceful coexistence" can in no way be the general line of the foreign policy of a socialist state. Communists strive to sweep away imperialism once and for all from the earth and build communism, so they cannot champion "peaceful coexistence," the gist of which is to make friends with imperialism, as the general task of their foreign policy. Communists should resolutely oppose the imperialists' frantic arms race and war provocations. We should not allow ourselves to think that we will put aside our arms when the bourgeoisie are unwilling to do so, and harbour illusions that the imperialists will lay down their weapons of their own accord.

The modern revisionists even oppose the national liberation struggle in colonies, clamouring for peaceful coexistence with imperialism. They regard the armed struggle of the oppressed peoples as a "spark" that

could ignite a "worldwide thermonuclear war," and they disparage the national liberation struggle as a "suicidal act" or a "reckless act inviting human destruction."

The modern revisionists are now trembling with apprehension at the thought that the communists' struggle for world revolution may alarm the imperialists, entailing grave consequences.

Why should we abandon our class principles and revolutionary dignity and beg the imperialists for peace today, when the revolutionary forces of the world are incomparably stronger while the imperialist forces are falling into bottomless decay and ruin? Only the renegades of the revolution would ask the imperialists for peace.

The capitulationist policy of the modern revisionists is making the imperialists even more arrogant and is endangering world peace more than ever before. The more the modern revisionists flatter and yield to the US imperialists, the more closely the latter will cling to their "power policy" in a bid to realize their aggressive ambitions.

The aggressive nature of imperialism will never change, and as long as imperialism exists the source of potential war cannot be eliminated. Peace can only be won through a staunch struggle against US-led imperialism. We should not follow the capitulationist line of the revisionists or entertain any illusions about imperialism.

Another harmful effect of modern revisionism is that it undermines the cohesion of socialist countries and the unity of the international communist movement by flagrantly violating the norms of mutual relations between fraternal parties.

The modern revisionists do not hesitate to interfere blatantly in the internal affairs of fraternal parties and countries and censure their class brothers in the presence of imperialists.

It is true that differences of opinion may arise between fraternal parties because their specific revolutionary tasks and conditions vary from each other. A wrong understanding of the revolutionary theory of the working class and a misguided attitude towards the revolutionary struggle may also cause a divergence of opinion.

Differences of opinion between fraternal parties should be settled through comradely discussion. If fraternal parties faithfully observe the

norms of their mutual relations, the keystone of which is complete equality, independence, mutual respect, noninterference in the internal affairs of others and comradely cooperation, they can develop the unity of the socialist countries and the international communist movement into a genuinely voluntary and durable one and settle their differences of opinion without a hitch.

But the modern revisionists are imposing their unjust intentions on others and resorting to big-powerist arbitrariness, recklessly interfering in the internal affairs of others. They are attempting to dismantle the international communist movement and the socialist countries and obliterate one by one the gains of the revolution achieved by the world's working class through a protracted bloody struggle.

The plotting by the modern revisionists has now turned the differences of opinion among fraternal parties and countries into a question of the fundamental view and attitude towards the revolution, not a mere question of the method of struggle, and into a serious question involving the overall issues relating to the revolutionary theory, strategy and tactics of the working class, not an individual question.

The modern revisionists even oppose the construction of the independent national economy of the fraternal countries, and instead wantonly demand that they act under their baton.

They claim that an independent national economy is a closed-door economy and so forth, and preach that building such an economy is politically dangerous and economically harmful.

Building an independent national economy does not mean excluding mutual cooperation between socialist countries or closing the door. The socialist countries should closely cooperate with one another in economic construction, and cooperation should be realized, to all intents and purposes, in the direction of ensuring the independent development of all. Fraternal countries should never infringe on the sovereign rights of others or check their building of an independent national economy on the excuse of cooperation.

As we have seen, the modern revisionists try to eliminate the essence of the revolutionary ideology of the working class and are inflicting serious harmful effects on the performance of the socialist, communist

cause under the pretext of a "changed situation" and "creative development."

We should have a precise understanding of the reactionary nature of modern revisionism and its harmful effects, and wage a vigorous struggle against revisionism, so that it can never infiltrate our ranks.

Next, I would like to refer to the revolutionary stand maintained by our Party in the anti-revisionist struggle.

In order to preclude modern revisionism from entering our ranks, we need to ensure that Party members and other working people have a clear understanding of the revolutionary stand maintained by our Party in the struggle against revisionism and hold fast to it.

We are now at a crossroads of opposing modern revisionism and maintaining the revolutionary stand to the last or abandoning the revolution and yielding to imperialism by adopting revisionism. To date our Party has steadfastly defended its revolutionary principles and waged a resolute struggle against modern revisionism.

Clarifying once again our Party's principled stand towards modern revisionism, the leader said that even though people in other countries abandon the revolution and adopt revisionism, we must carry on the revolution without the slightest vacillation and stoutly fight against imperialism to the last.

As he said, our Party's stand is clear. We should on no account opt for compromise with imperialism by taking our cue from the revisionists, nor should we take even a single step back in the anti-imperialist struggle.

We have yet to achieve victory in the revolution on a nationwide scale. We Korean communists are faced with the tasks of winning a complete victory of socialism in the northern half of Korea, driving the US imperialists out of the country and achieving independent national reunification by continuously promoting the revolution.

If we cease to wage the anti-imperialist struggle, dancing to the tune of the modern revisionists, we cannot achieve the cause of national reunification and may lose the priceless gains achieved through a long-drawn-out revolutionary struggle.

However tenaciously the modern revisionists may try to find fault

with us and bring political and economic pressure to bear on us, we should resolutely reject it and staunchly defend our Party's revolutionary stand.

First of all, the whole Party and all the people should be rallied firmly behind the leader and sincerely support his ideas and leadership.

That the whole Party and all the people firmly equip themselves only with the leader's great revolutionary ideology and faithfully support his wise leadership is a decisive guarantee for successfully carrying out the revolution and construction, whatever the conditions.

Because he wisely leads our Party and people, our Party can hold fast to the revolutionary stand and dynamically advance, performing world-shaking miracles in the revolution and construction, even under the most complex situations.

When the internal and external situation was very complex and grave, our Party and people trusted only the leader, and bravely overcame the difficulties in the way of the revolution under his wise leadership, holding fast to the revolutionary principles.

We should cherish a deep conviction that only when we faithfully support his wise leadership, closely united around him, can we strengthen the Party, cement our revolutionary position and achieve the ultimate victory of our revolution, braving any storms and trials.

Next, we should arm ourselves firmly with the leader's instructions and their embodiment, our Party's policies.

Proceeding from the interests of the Korean revolution and the international revolutionary movement, our Party works out policies for struggling against modern revisionism from an independent and principled stand, and carries them out to the letter.

It is only when we are firmly equipped with the leader's instructions and the Party's policies that we can clearly understand the revolutionary stand and the policies of struggle adhered to by our Party in the struggle against modern revisionism.

Unless we are firmly armed with his instructions and the Party's policies, we cannot tell the revolutionary stand from the opportunistic stand, and we may end up following revisionism in spite of ourselves.

We should, by conducting a deep and comprehensive study of the

leader's works, including his report to the Fourth Congress of the Workers' Party of Korea, his concluding speech *On Improving and Strengthening the Organizational and Ideological Work of the Party* at an enlarged meeting of the Third Plenary Meeting of the Fourth Central Committee of the Party and his speech *On the Immediate Tasks of the Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea* at the First Session of the Third Supreme People's Assembly, be well informed of our Party's policies on the anti-revisionist struggle.

In order staunchly to defend our Party's revolutionary stand in the anti-revisionist struggle, it is also important to have unshakeable confidence in the victory of the revolution.

When the revolutionary struggle becomes arduous and drags on, those whose confidence in the victory of the revolution is weak may feel bored, and waver. Therefore, it is essential to intensify education in class awareness and our revolutionary traditions so that all the people, particularly the new generations who have never experienced the ordeals of the revolution, can be fully convinced that our revolution will emerge victorious and have a strong determination to carry through the revolution, whatever the adversity. Only then can they follow the road of the revolution unwaveringly, no matter which way the wind may blow.

In order to maintain the revolutionary stand of our Party firmly in the anti-revisionist struggle, it is also necessary to oppose big-power worship and dogmatism, establish a Juche orientation and give full play to the revolutionary spirit of self-reliance.

As the leader says, communists should not be dependent on others. If one is dependent on others one cannot believe in one's own strength and work to tap the internal resources of one's country to the maximum; instead, one is prone to give up easily in the face of a minor obstacle. The more complex the situation and the more obstacles on our way, the more highly we should display the revolutionary spirit of self-reliance, believing in our own strength.

Recent developments show that we must not take things easy, relying on the modern weapons of others. We cannot carry out the revolution by relying on people who, fearful of a showdown with imperialism and pursuing their own national interests alone, do not hesitate to seek a

humiliating compromise with aggressors and even sacrifice others.

We should not lose confidence or vacillate over the recent developments in the international arena, but always rely on ourselves and build up our strength.

At the Fifth Plenary Meeting of the Fourth Party Central Committee the leader took the revolutionary step of consolidating our defence capabilities to cope with the prevailing situation.

The more trying and complex the situation is, the more proactively we should strive to solve all the problems arising in the revolutionary struggle and construction work by our own efforts.

Finally, we should establish revolutionary order and discipline and remain always on our guard so as to prevent revisionism and Western style from infiltrating our ranks.

The modern revisionists are paralyzing the class consciousness of the working people and infecting the younger generations ideologically and morally by spreading all sorts of opportunist ideas and theories, and at the same time introducing the bourgeois ideology and the corrupt bourgeois way of life. They champion the "superclass art of mankind" in the field of art and praise the capitalist way of life; they have even organized jazz bands. The films they produced recently and are advertizing as masterpieces are, without exception, filled with extreme ideological confusion and moral degeneration such as opposition to war, pessimism, boredom with revolutionary struggle, and the pursuit of individual pleasure and indolence.

Many people in the countries pursuing revisionism are steeped in the bourgeois ideology and way of life and becoming good-for-nothings who are devoid of love for their motherland and unable to distinguish the class enemies. Moral degeneration is particularly evident among the students and other young people who have never experienced the trying ordeals of the revolution. They want large rewards for less work and object to an organizational life and military service, preferring a dissolute life.

If revolutionary education is not intensified among our youth and students, the bourgeois way of life and the ideological poison of revisionism may infiltrate them. Now, unsound ideas and ways of life are evident among some youth and students.

Nowadays pictorials from those countries which are pursuing revisionism are in wide circulation; unless we guard strictly against revisionist publications, broadcasts and films, revisionism and the Western style may infiltrate our ranks.

We should establish a revolutionary system and order, always live in a militant manner and oppose the slightest expression of indolence and relaxation. In this way we can prevent any heterogeneous idea or bourgeois way of life contradictory to the Party's ideas from entering our ranks.

The international communist movement has developed and won victories through a fierce struggle against every manner of opportunistic ideological trend. Although the struggle against opportunism experienced temporary twists and turns, victory was always on the side of the communists who struggled in defence of the revolutionary stand.

At one time the influence of the revisionist Second International appeared to be quite strong, but it was ultimately disbanded and the international communist movement developed onto a new, higher stage.

Modern revisionists can temporarily hoodwink people under the cloak of Leninism, but their opportunist identity will gradually be revealed and they will not escape final ruin sooner or later.

History has shown that reaction and opportunism can never obliterate the great truth of the revolution or check the tide of history and the dynamic advance of the international communist movement.

Just as the downfall of capitalism and the victory of socialism are inevitable, so, too, are the ruin of revisionism and the victory of the international communist movement.

Although the present internal and external situation is very complex and the international communist movement is undergoing grave ordeals, we are sure to tide over any difficulties and achieve final victory, as long as we have the leader's wise guidance, our invincible militant Party and the unbreakable political and ideological unity of all the people rallied behind him with one ideology and will.

As in the past, so in the future, too, we should hold fast to our Party's revolutionary stand and resolutely struggle against imperialism and revisionism.